1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

252 age of *ma; tipo,* to put *ma* in packages to cook it; *tohi i te ma,* to get *ma* from the silo, cutting and ladling it with the hands; *toueva,* small package of leaves to cover what is cooked in the earth oven; *tuoo,* to put coconut milk on *popoi.*

KAVA-DRINKING

272 The drinking of *kava* was common in the Marquesas as in other parts of Polynesia. The drink was made from the root of a species of pepper plant (*Piper methysticum*), which was chewed in preparation. It appears that in different parts of the group there was some variation in the practice of chewing the *kava* root to make the drink. Melville (23, p. 194) describes young boys as chewing the root; Porter (24, p. 95) says, "Persons of lower class chewed it"; an old white resident of Taiohae said that young girls always did this there; while on Hiva Oa, my trustworthy informants all agree that *kava,* being *tapu* in ancient times to women and children, was always chewed by men.

On Hiva Oa, the mouthfuls of masticated *kava* root were dropped into a bowl (*kotue*) by the men who were doing the chewing. Water was added, the mass was stirred, and then allowed to stand a short time. The [415] liquid was strained by means of a bundle of crushed reed stems (*mouku*) or a piece of the fibrous sheath that grows at the base of the coconut leaf (*kaka a ehi*), the strainer being dipped in the liquid, passed around, so as to take up the particles of fiber, taken out, and then wrung out by twisting with both hands. Carved coconut-shell drinking cups (*ipu*) were dipped [415] into the bowl and passed around the company.

Melville (23, pp. 194-5) gives the following description of the making of *kava* in Tai-pi:

> Some half-dozen young boys seated themselves in a circle around an empty wooden vessel, each one of them being supplied with a certain quantity of the roots of the "arva," broken into small bits and laid by his side. A cocoa-nut goblet of water was passed around the juvenile company, who, rinsing their mouths with its contents, proceeded to the business before them. This merely consisted in thoroughly masticating the "arva," and throwing it mouthful after mouthful into the receptacle provided. When a sufficient quantity had been thus obtained water was poured upon the mass, and, being stirred about with the forefinger of the right hand, the preparation was soon in readiness for use.

Modern informants say that *kava* was drunk only by old men. Younger men, and particularly warriors, seldom drank it, because it made them weak [266] in the knees. These informants say, however, that *kava* was always drunk as an accompaniment to the eating of human flesh, and on these occasions the warriors always participated. It was usual to take a copious draft of the drink and then quickly to eat a bit of food. The narcotic effect would immediately follow with most men, but some would have to take a number

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

of drinks before the stupor and sleep, which were the desired results, would follow. A person under the influence of the drink was very highly sensitive to noise. According to Père Pierre (4) the god Papaiea was thought to possess a man at this time. This god was supposed to be irritated by noise, the violent trembling which sometimes affected the body of the *kava* drinker being caused by his agitation. To stop the trembling the man's stomach would be struck a blow or his wife would sit, nude, on his chest. It was believed that the contact of her body would frighten away the god.

A scaling off of the skin (*ha'a poha*) resulted from the excessive use of the beverage. According to natives, however, there were no lasting ill effects; the nervous effect and scaling of the skin passing off with a short period of abstinence. Dordillon gives *puhe kava* as the name of a kind of chant which was sung before *kava* was drunk (8). There was no formality connected with *kava* drinking in the Marquesas.

FESTIVALS

The term *ko'ina* is used in the Marquesas to apply to any festivity whether a small family feast or a great festival. The different types of *ko'ina* are indicated by the use of an adjective describing the purpose of the celebration, following the word *ko'ina*—thus, *ko'ina tupapa'u*, feast for the dead.

Feasts or festivals celebrated every incident and occurrence of importance to families or tribes. The completion of any new object of manufacture or of the labor of any industry requiring communal work was always celebrated with a feast or festival, as were also religious and social events. On the surface some *ko'ina* appear to be purely for amusement, as for example the chanting feasts that are described under Chants. But even these had actually definite purposes, such as the lauding or elevation of the individual for whom the chant was composed.

The great festivals were merely elaborated feasts. For the most part they celebrated in a chief's family the same incidents and occurrences that in private families were celebrated with smaller feasts; or they celebrated the completion of labor or a religious rite in which the tribe as a whole had been concerned. Tribal festivals may be grouped into several classes: those celebrating abundant harvests of the fruits of sea or land; those celebrating such occurrences in the chief's family as marriage, tattooing, death, and so on; the memorial festivals when offerings were made by different families in honor of those who had died some time before; and certain other religious festivals.

All feasts and festivals and also the industries were intimately associated with religious rites. In connection with every industry there were

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

796 266 seems that the human flesh was eaten sometimes at the feast place, while at other times each man took home his own share, or that some was eaten and some taken home. When human flesh was taken home, the men had to eat it in the sacred storehouse (*fata'a*). Regardless of where or how the victim was eaten, the head was always sent to the sacred place (*me'ae*) for the god. It was not common for the intestines to be eaten, although in Atu Ona Valley there was one tribe that ate them. This tribe was the one reputed to have eaten fellow tribesmen. Women never ate human flesh except that of a victim taken in revenge for the death of a particular fellow tribesman. In the eating of the flesh of such a revenge victim, all members of the tribe shared.

The manner of eating human victims on the feast place at Hiva Oa has been described to me as follows: The body was cut up raw, and the pieces were distributed. *Kava* was then mixed. When the drink was ready, a small piece of flesh was put on the end of a stick and held in the flames of a fire just long enough to heat the meat, although not long enough to cook it. The *kava* was then drunk and the flesh quickly eaten, with the result, it is said, that a man became immediately intoxicated. If there was enough of the flesh, some of it was taken home by the different men. At each eating the same routine was followed with the same results. [261] The flesh was kept and eaten until it was rotten.

A number of practices connected with cannibalism described in the manuscripts of the Catholic Fathers (4, 7, 9, 19) seem to belong with this description of the customs connected with the eating of human victims. [272] *Pi'au mitimiti* was applied to the drinking of juices of decomposed human victims. The eyes and heart were the portions allotted to the highest chief, while the ears were shared out among his servants. Hands and feet were cut off and eaten first by the rest of the feasters, being regarded as especially delectible. These manuscripts state that the abdomen was cut open and that the intestines and other organs were eaten, the intestines being eaten raw. The crushing of the skull of a child and the eating of its brains are described by one writer, along with other similar practices. Père Siméon (7) describes one occasion on which the brain only was eaten, the rest of the body being discarded, and another occasion on which victims were eaten raw when a hasty departure was taken through fear of the enemy.

796 266 415 I ascertained at Pua Ma'u that in that valley there was a special type of vessel, called the *hue po'o*, that was intended to hold human flesh while it was kept in the house. This vessel was of wood and had a cover with a handle on top, called *po'o*. Cut up into this handle, from the underside of the cover, was a hole in which a small piece of human flesh could be

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

The Kava is a root possessing an intoxicating quality, with
which the chiefs are very fond of indulging themselves. They 276
employ persons of a lower class to chew it for them, and spit it 272
into a wooden bowl; after which a small quantity of water is
mixed with it, when the juice is strained into a neatly polished
cup, made of a cocoa-nut shell, and passed round among them.
It renders them very stupid and averse to hearing any noise; it
deprives them of their appetite, and reduces them almost to a
state of torpor; it has also the effect of making their skin fall off
in white scales, weakens their nerves, and no doubt brings on a
premature old age. They applied the word kava to every thing
we ate or drank of a heating or pungent nature. Rum and wine
was called kava; pepper, mustard, and even salt, with the nature [263]
and use of which they are entirely unacquainted, were called
kava, as was also our spittle. A mineral water of a strong taste, 272
several springs of which are to be found on the island, and are 270
held in high estimation by the natives for the cure of scrofulous
and some other complaints, is called *vie kava*.

The bread fruit tree has been so often and so minutely de- 245
scribed by other voyagers, that a description of it here may be
thought by some superfluous. Their fruit-trees, except those
which are tabbooed, are without enclosure; their smaller and
more delicate plants, as well as their roots, have only a wall to
prevent the depredations of hogs. Their houses are open in 674
front, and their furniture, many parts of which are of great value
to them, is entirely exposed. Their hogs are wandering in every
part of the valley; their fishing nets and their clothes are left ex-
posed on the beach, and spread on the grass; no precautions are
taken to guard against theft, and I therefore conclude that thefts
among themselves are unknown.

During our operations at the camp, where carpenters, coopers,
armourers, sail-makers, &c. were employed, it is natural to sup-
pose that small tools, and articles of great value, were exposed to
the natives. As from sunrise to sunset the camp was perfectly
invested with them, it would have been impossible to prevent, or
to have detected thefts, had they been so inclined. But as
numerous as they were, constantly assisting us in our labours,
mixing with our men, sitting for hours, eyeing with the greatest
attention the different works, carrying, or handling and examin-
ing tools of every description, entering our tents and houses,
performing for us many domestic services, assisting us in our
wars, carrying for us our arms, our clothing, and provisions,
being absent from us whole days with those precious things, still,
during our stay, no article was ever missed by any person, ex-
cept some trifles which were pilfered from the sailors by the girls,
and this was, in all probability, in retaliation for the tricks which

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

226 captive. Surplus fish were either sun-dried or salted. The Mar-
[263] quesans, unlike the other Polynesians, attached a tremendous value to salt and combed the rocks around the cliffs for it.

●272 Mention should be made also of kava, a narcotic drink made
276 from a root, which was chewed up, usually by the boys and girls, as they had better teeth than their elders, spat into a bowl, and fermented. Its effects were mild. The drinker became extremely sensitive to sounds or disturbances, and desired to be let alone. Kava parties were not convivial affairs; the participants after two or three cups of kava each, settled back comfortably and talked very little. Since there was very little land on which the kava root could be raised, the drink was a luxury and reserved for the household heads.

266 The last item in connection with food is cannibalism. In the old days the Marquesans were vigorous cannibals, and from my talks with the old men who had indulged in the practice, I am convinced that, while there was ceremonial cannibalism, there was also eating of human flesh because they found it good. This is one of the few regions where women were permitted to eat human meat. Although there was eating of enemies because of revenge obligations, there was also plain meat-hunting of enemy tribes for food, especially at times of food shortage. Another indication that cannibalism was not merely ceremonial is that these people ate everyone from infants up. The purpose of ceremonial cannibalism is to absorb the good qualities of the individual one is consuming, but the Marquesans had a preference for children too young to have attained admirable qualities. There were also stories of man-eaters, people who developed a pathological fondness for human flesh. Such a man would kidnap children of his own tribe or even kill and eat his own
[731] wife or children. There was ordinarily no cannibalism within the tribe, although in times of extreme famine an inspirational priest might designate certain victims who would be killed and
[782] eaten. Sacrifices to the gods were not eaten, the idea being that the entire individual was left to be consumed by the gods. Revenge victims, however, were always eaten.